

*Reported to
President*

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 2, 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Germany and Berlin

There is general agreement that Khrushchev will press his peace treaty proposals at the Summit and that the Western Powers should respond, at least in part, by reaffirming their Peace Plan, a summary of which is enclosed. We also believe that the Western Powers must be prepared at a suitable point during the Conference to move on to Berlin, presumably starting with something along the lines of their July 28 proposals (a comparison of these with the final Soviet Proposals at Geneva is enclosed).

In view of the postponement of the East-West Summit, it would seem inadvisable during the December Western Summit to go much beyond the substantive positions put forward at Geneva on Germany and Berlin. Possible modifications of these positions could then be discussed during the latter preparatory period. An important consideration is the probability of early leaks which would gravely weaken in advance the Western negotiating position vis-a-vis the Soviets. On the American side we have prepared certain possible new proposals on Berlin and will refine these further prior to the Paris meetings. Another consideration is the need, in developing the Western position, to take account of the developing discussion of the problem of Western force levels and its relationship to possible specific regional disarmament measures in Europe. Accordingly, we have prepared a revision of the Western Peace Plan incorporating certain regional disarmament measures.

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We also aim to have the report of the current Four Power Working Group include a series of pointed questions on Germany and Berlin intended to focus discussion at the Western

Summit on

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Summit on certain critical issues relative to which guidance must be provided for the further work in preparation for an East-West Summit. This could serve as a framework for the presentation of American views on the subject to the extent considered desirable in the light of the actual situation at the December meetings.

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Enclosures:

1. Summary of Peace Plan
2. Comparison of Proposals

SUMMARY OF WESTERN PEACE PLAN

The Western Peace Plan presented at Geneva on May 14, 1959, is a four-stage program for German reunification and European security. It also contains some proposals previously dealt with in the framework of general disarmament.

In Stage I of the Plan free elections are held throughout all Berlin under supervision. The Four Powers guarantee the freedom of the united city and access thereto pending German reunification. They issue a common declaration on peaceful settlement of disputes and renunciation of the use of force.

In Stage II a Mixed German Committee is set up. This consists of 25 members from the Federal Republic (population over 25 million) and 10 members from East Germany (population under 17 million) to work out proposals for increased technical contacts between the two parts of Germany and for freedom of movement and respect for human rights through Germany. It will also draft a law for free and secret elections in the whole of Germany under independent supervision.

Information on military forces in areas of Europe to be mutually agreed is exchanged. The over-all strength of the forces of the Four Powers are limited to agreed maximum levels e.g., 2½ million each for the United States and the Soviet Union. Quantities of designated types of armaments are placed under international supervision. Measures of inspection against surprise attack, possibly including overlapping radar systems, could be undertaken in various areas of the world to be mutually agreed. Production of ABC weapons is prohibited throughout Germany and other European countries in the East.

In Stage III supervised elections for an all-German Assembly take place within 2½ years of the beginning of the Plan. The all-German Assembly drafts a constitution. An all-German government is formed with freedom of decision in internal and external affairs.

Upon the establishment of an all-German Government a "zone comprising areas of equal size and depth and importance on either side of a line to be mutually determined" will be created with "agreed ceilings of indigenous and non-indigenous forces". (After the conclusion of a Peace Treaty all foreign troops will withdraw from the countries in the area if requested by the government of the country in which they are stationed.) Global force limits could be further reduced, e.g., to 2.1 million each and later 1.7 million for the United States and the Soviet Union. If the all-German Government decides to adhere either to NATO or the Warsaw Pact, additional security arrangements would be provided.

In Stage IV a final peace settlement will be concluded with the all-German government.

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